1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

feathers hanging over the dance place, shake it, and cause drops to fall. Or they might squeeze drops from some object held in the hand, even from crystal. "Between dances I was nursing my baby, and I fell asleep. A shaman, who was my kinsman, came with his eagle plumes and squeezed drops on my face to wake me."(26)

The dancing lasted until dawn, with pauses for smoking. These pauses were, anciently, a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time, and many young men were famous for their exploits. Young girls, who were carefully secluded, were either not allowed to attend at all or were kept close to their mothers all night.

At dawn, the crier bade the people go home and sleep, but to come again and sing on the following night. In some of the villages a rabbit hunt was held on the intervening day, so that there might be a feast for guests. Otherwise, the people slept. Meanwhile, the tasters continued to test the liquor and to watch it ferment; if it showed no signs of bubbling, after forty-eight hours, some shaman would be accused of bewitching it. The writer remembers an occasion at Santa Rosa, when the liquor failed to bubble at the proper time. The village was shrouded in an atmosphere of gloom and was rife with accusations, both of sorcery and of breach of taboo. Had not fermentation finally taken place, there might have been some unpleasant incidents.

On the second night the people sang again, and toward dawn, if all went well, the liquor was generally at the peak of fermentation. After the final song and before the people separated, the shamans announced when rain might be expected. If there were several shamans and each made a different prognostication, those who were mistaken were in danger of losing their reputation. There was usually some leeway in that a man might say: "I meant four days from the end of the singing, not from the beginning"; or, "I meant a heavy rain, not a light one." Then the crier sent the people home with the words:

27. When the liquor has reached the right point, then you will eat. Then up there [at your houses] the blackface will summon you. Immediately you will assemble. We shall sit and drink.(26)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the palate of an infant. Pressure was supposed to close the fontanelle, "because it was soft and it was making the child sick." The Aztec woman held the child upside down for the same reason.

SORCERY[8]

If the shaman's diagnosis or his treatment failed, he was open to the charge of murder by sorcery. Such an idea was never far from the Papago mind, and the early Jesuits found it rampant.

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft. . . . Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. . . . Witches even kill each other.[9] In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[10]

The result has been many a shaman clubbed to death or shot by a surreptitious arrow, with the consent and sometimes the thanks of the village authorities.

The San Xavier calendar stick [11] recording the events of eighty years mentions several such occurrences, generally as the result of an epidemic or drought. "They found it was an evil shaman who was causing the trouble, so they killed him." Shamans were suspected of burying fire in the earth, thus turning away the clouds, and preventing rain. They might swallow burning coals, spit out fire, and cause disease. They might put poison into a coyote, which would go mad and spread rabies. They might send darkness over a patient so that the crystal of the officiating shaman could not penetrate it and show the cause of disease. Or they might swallow the poison of a rattlesnake or gila monster and blow it over patients when they blew saliva, ostensibly as a cure.

No one could tell when a shaman's power might cause him to act in this way, for it happened sporadically and perhaps without his own volition. The change brought no material gain, for people ceased to employ him. Nor did he attain sovereignty over the souls of those he killed, like the Mohave shaman, or the help of evil spirits like the European witch. His power from his animal guardian remained what it had always been, but, perhaps because

[8] Russell (p. 262) describes similar shaman sorcery among the Pima.
[9] Apostolicos afanes, pp. 238, 240. [10] Rudo ensayo, p. 171. [11] Underhill, 1938a.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

of some ritual neglect on his part, it got out of control and his character altered correspondingly.

Against sorcery there was no defense but the power of another shaman. It was here that the "liar" came into his own and received public recognition. Usually, his part in ceremonies was to sit silent and apart, waiting to prophesy the outcome. He might even be excluded on suspicion of being a sorcerer himself. But we have seen that in one rite, the cleansing ceremony, he had a prominent part, that of driving out possible danger from the year's meat and crops. When danger actually arrived, in the form of blight or epidemic, he was called on again.[12]

SENDING AWAY EVIL

In such a case, the shaman might repeat the cleansing ceremony, as mentioned on p. 105, or he might perform a special exorcism, known as *d'ata*, literally the "sending away" of evil. Since this was a curing rite, scarcely separable from the witch fighting to be described below, it has been discussed as a function of shamanism rather than a communal ceremony. However, the shaman, in this case, had the assistance of a group of singers, as he did at the cleansing ceremony. They sat in a circle at the council house, singing to the accompaniment of the scraping stick. Their songs seem very like those used at the cleansing ceremony proper, but they were given by the same informants, who insisted there was a difference. Apparently in the vicissitudes which overtake song cycles these particular songs became specialized for one purpose.

SONGS FOR SENDING AWAY EVIL

1. The gray comrade [Coyote]
   On his own legs is standing;
   With his own mouth is barking.(20)

2. Over Komari'k Mountain
   A black eagle is circling;
   Yonder toward the west
   He is shining brightly.(20)

[12] For the same procedure among the Pima see Russell, p. 262.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Up there, a mountain.
I like it.
Up there it rises.(13)

10. Much eagle down spreading out;
Much eagle down spreading out.
Let him sing, let him sing, Elder Brother!
Slowly the clouds begin to come.(20)

Sometimes the epidemic or the blight was not full-fledged, but merely a threat. In that case it was known to no one but the shaman. He would warn the keeper of the smoke that some sorcerer had planted a charm near the village. This charm took various forms. It might be *tai* (fire), which would spread underground and shrivel the plants. It might be *hiwonyi* (a tube filled with sickness). To make such a thing, the evil shaman was supposed to take an eagle wing feather and cut off the tip of the quill, making it into a tube. Within he placed "something out of his heart" and buried it in the earth. It would ultimately swell like a seed and sprout, spreading sickness. If it could be pulled up before it had sprouted, danger would be averted. If it were allowed to sprout, the evil would have to be swept up with the thorny branch many times and perhaps unsuccessfully. Then the only remedy was to catch the sorcerer and kill him.

Sometimes a shaman "saw" with his crystal during the cleansing ceremony that such a charm had been planted. Then the regular songs of the ceremony were followed by the sending away songs. But premonition of evil might come to the shaman at any time of the year. Then he informed the keeper of the smoke, who sent for the singers and the ritual speaker. They sat in a circle, with an opening to the east, and sang the sending away songs.

All the songs quoted above could be used, but there were also some which referred definitely to the seeking of the evil charm.

11. Then I stand forth.
The crystal I hold up.
It gives light, and I see.(13)

12. Evening falls.
Then I stand up.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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persuasion were necessary before he would talk again. Yet he was aware that he was an authority and that the interruptor had no status.

The objection to adverse comment, even though only sensed, not heard, is a sufficient motive for good conduct. When a young girl is advised not to interfere with her husband, she is told: "If you keep him at home, he cannot hunt. Then there will be nothing to eat and he will go to the neighbors. They will feed him but *they will speak about you.*"

626

This fear of being "spoken about" was actually the controlling factor in Papago society. In the intimate group, the affairs of everyone were wide open for inspection and any selfishness, dishonesty, treachery, or sexual looseness became common knowledge. The penalty was unpopularity among the neighbors who were one's only associates. They would slack in their food gifts; they would make excuses when asked to a working bee; they would warn against marriage alliances with the family. It was, in fact, the family that suffered and not the individual offender and therefore, the family would reform him if possible or, at least, make good his lapses. There was little need for the authorities to take action when the family machinery could thus be kept in order by public opinion.

626 754

A potent aid to this gossip control was the fear of witchcraft. The methods of sorcery will be taken up in connection with the shaman, but it may be mentioned here that every shaman was considered a potential worker of evil magic and therefore it was highly dangerous to offend him, his family or those who might be paying him. Papago life seems to have been shot through and through with this fear of magic for the Spanish account says:

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft... Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. ... Witches even kill each other.[1]
>
> In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[2]

All unexplained ills of life, the accidents and the incurable disease, were imputed to the evil shaman and all felt themselves continually surrounded by this malign power. When we realize how little opportunity there was in Papago life for the violence, theft and physical degeneracy which occur in modern society, we must set against this freedom the constant dread of magic. One can imagine signs of it yet in the fantastic machinations imputed to any stranger and the resistance toward new proposals as mysteriously evil.

[1] Apostolicos Afanes, pp. 238, 240. [2] Rudo Ensayo, p. 171.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

526 [754] The shaman received no compensation for his services to the runners. "He bet like the others and if they won, he won" (21).

[754] When the race began, no one was allowed within a hundred feet of the starting point because an evil shaman's power "could not fly that far", and thus the runners would be safe. As an extra precaution they were kept behind the crowd and no one knew when he was to run until the last minute. For one famous race they were brought from half a mile away on horseback, each sitting behind a horseman and leaping off just in time to start running (21).

In long distance races many men followed the runners part way and waited for them to return. The race was considered over at sunset, no matter where they were, though one "moonlight race" is recorded.

While the people waited for long distance racers to return, various smaller games might go on. Older people played the gambling games, always men against men and women against women. Young people raced, played kickball and double ball. When the runners returned, the people cheered. Men made a shrill sound and slapped the hand rhythmically over the mouth. Women ululated: "ki-yi-yi!" The whole pile of stakes was then handed over to the winning village or group and each individual retrieved his own stake with the duplicate tied to it.

There follow two accounts of races from the calendar stick:

"The Tecaloti people kept on training runners. In the middle of the summer they notified the former victors, "You've beaten us now we are ready to play again.. Tell your partners to start training your boys. We'll train ours."

All started training. Every once in a while the Koloti chief would come to see how the training was coming on. When the date was near, he came and said, "The time is nearly up." The two chiefs were conferring, the boys were training. The next month he came again and the date was set. Two days before the race all gathered at Carrying-Basket Mountain.

The next morning the Koloti arrived. The corrals were full of cattle, which they had brought to bet. The runners did not start until afternoon. There were only two, the eldest son of Garment-Falling-Down and a Koloti. The race started at four o'clock in the afternoon and was from Carrying-Basket Mountain to Aktcin, (a distance of twenty-five miles.) At six o'clock the runners were just at the other end of the track. Before they got to Where-Water-Whirls-Round it was sundown. The son of Garment-Falling-Down was two miles ahead. The horseman, following the best man, picked him up, rode forward, and said to Garment-Falling-Down, "Your son has won. I put him on my horse and brought him home."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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756 man will diagnose an illness as a "white sickness" for which a doctor should be consulted, but the only reason for which a white doctor is almost invariably called is a fracture.

The psychotherapeutic value of the medicine man's rites should not be underrated. When the doctor is thought to have supernatural power and has proved it by curing many patients, a sick man will have confidence that he too will be cured. In any sickness this is half the battle. Government doctors on Indian reservations are coming to see this point and to make use of the medicine man rather than to decry him.[4]

754 The preceding discussion has dealt with the "good" medicine man. In opposition to his power is that of the "bad" medicine man. A Christianized Papago tends to feel that the power of the former comes from God and that of the latter from the devil. The man who is thus possessed must carry out the evil designs or die. He can produce illness or death in individuals by "shooting" them with poisonous substances; he can bring an epidemic on a whole village; he can interfere with natural phenomena or with sacred objects and thus bring drought or other disasters.[5] The only recourse against this evil power is to seek a "good" medicine man, who can take out the foreign substance with which the victim has been "shot" or prescribe the proper method of combating other evils. He can also identify the "bad doctor" and by magical means cause his disappearance or death.

Very few Papago do not believe in the witchcraft of the "bad" medicine man. Even a good Presbyterian who feels a sudden pain in his shoulder will suspect that he has been "shot" and hurry to the "good" medicine man for treatment. If he does not go soon, he thinks he will surely die.

756 Thus the Desert People depend upon their "good" medicine men not only to cure sickness but also (and here the white doctor is no help) to counteract the many misfortunes which come from the hostile world of the supernatural or from persons possessed of evil. Despite the loss of the group ceremonies and the coming of Christianity, medicine men still receive their power and practice their cures, and the Desert People go on believing in and performing many of the rites they have followed for centuries.

4. See chap. vii. For suggestive discussion of the values of the Indian therapy see Dorothea C. and Alexander H. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, pp. 35 ff., and Dorothea C. Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn, *The Navajo*, pp. 163–72.

5. According to Papago belief, only medicine men can be witches. Certain other tribes hold that anyone can.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

malaria," or "there is miasma in the air" of a certain locality. As Earth Magician sank out of sight Elder Brother seized the feathers on top of his head. The down came off these feathers and Elder Brother, feeling that he had "bad medicine" (a substance filled with potential harm) on his hands, tried to throw it away. He scattered the down to the winds, which carried it everywhere, and sickness became prevalent among the people. 753

The ills of the Papago may be grouped under four headings: (1) Sickness attributed to the action of "bad medicine men," or those who use their psychic power to evil ends. The nature of these "sicknesses" was not determined. The cure consisted in the overpowering of the "bad medicine" by a "good medicine" that was stronger, the treatment being essentially a conflict between the psychic power put forth by one man with evil intent and that put forth by another man with good intent. (2) Diseases attributed to spirit animals or birds. These were believed to cause functional troubles, such as cough, soreness of the eyes, and digestive derangement. The treatment consisted in the singing of songs imparted to the doctor by the animal or bird that had caused the trouble, the singing usually being attended with some physical treatment, such as stroking with feathers or some other object, which had also been directed by the animal or birds causing the disease. (3) Accidents and injuries. For some injuries a cure was provided by a spirit animal of the sort that produced the injury. Thus the present paper contains songs given by a horse to cure an injury caused by a vicious horse. (Nos. 58–61.) These songs were used by doctors in a manner similar to those given by animals or birds for the cure of organic or functional disorders. (4) Diseases attributed to spirits of the dead. These were nervous disorders and were treated in a manner similar to diseases attributed to birds or animals. The spirits supposed to cause these disorders were spirits of dead Papago as well as those of Apache slain in war. Material remedies were not administered unless the means above described had failed to produce results. 753 755

To these ills may be added a "love bewitchment" believed to be produced by the singing of certain songs. This was treated by a medicine man who sang the proper songs. The victim of this "bewitchment" was said to be "crazy" and the treatment was akin to that of a nervous disorder.

In explanation of the first class of ills, enumerated above, it was said that in former times there were "bad medicine men" who spread diseases of various sorts. Hugh Norris, the writer's interpreter at Sells, said that long ago he saw two of these evil men whom everyone feared. Many deaths in a single day were often attributed to their 754

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

754 deeds. None of the people would speak to them. When accused, this sort of medicine man frequently placed the blame on innocent persons and allowed them to be killed.

The work of these evil men was done either by putting poison on the persons of those to be affected or by diffusing it in the air, causing sickness and death throughout the village. For the latter purpose the medicine man used a contrivance resembling a bomb with a time fuse. The man had been told in his "dream" how to mix a poison that would become volatile after a short period of time. The mixture was said to be red and to have the blood of the medicine man as one of its ingredients. He put this mixture in a piece of jointed straw about 1½ inches long. The joint of the straw closed the little receptacle at one end and a plug was inserted in the other end. The medicine man knew how many days would elapse before the mixture would "begin to work" and push out the plug, liberating the poison. If one of these poison tubes was found before the plug was expelled it was burned and the evil reacted on the medicine man. Since the poison was mixed with his blood, the burning of the poison was said to affect the blood in his body. His skin turned black and sometimes the skin on his face cracked open. The moment the heat of the flame touched the poison tube he began to cough, then he could neither sleep nor eat, and if the tube were consumed by the fire he died in two or three months. Sometimes the fire was not hot enough to entirely destroy the substance in the tube and then he might live a year or so. An instance of this was said to have occurred only a few years before the present inquiry was made.

The presence of a poison tube might be detected by a medicine man but not by other persons. A medicine man, suspecting this danger, might go to the chief and say he feared that "poison had been set for them." The chief would select three medicine men to help the one who suspected the danger and they would set a night for the search. They would have a fire and the singers would begin to sing. The medicine men would sit together during one or two songs, then go to the top of a hill, smoke, and act as they would if trying to locate an enemy. One man might say he felt that the poison tube was in a certain house or corral and they would go there and look for it. If it was not there the men would return to the top of the hill and try again. Sometimes the location of the poison tube was shown by a light which, at a distance, looked like a candle and flickered like a candle in the wind. As a man approached the light it grew smaller until it looked like a small live coal, and if he came too close it disappeared entirely. After finding the tube and destroying it the men

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would use their power to locate the medicine man who placed it, and would report their suspicions to the chief, who would act as he thought best in dealing with the man. 754

The destruction of a poison tube was attended with considerable danger. It was said that a poison tube was once found in an old house near San Xavier. An old medicine man located it, seized it with his hands and fell unconscious. He fell on some cholla cactus but was so deeply unconscious that he did not feel pain, nor know when his friends pulled the cactus spines from his flesh. He remained unconscious for about 10 minutes. Other men took the tube from him, carried it away, and burned it. Few medicine men had sufficient power to take hold of a tube alone and a group of men usually kept together so that if one took hold of the poison tube he could be saved by his associates. The men wrapped the tube in a cloth and ran with it to a fire, throwing it into the flames. Then came a slight explosive noise like a cork popping out and they saw the coals fly upward a little. The medicine men held out their arms and did not make a sound until the slight explosion took place, then they dropped their arms and began to moan like a person in pain.

These poison tubes were sometimes seen by persons who dared not touch them. Several years ago Mr. Encinas, the interpreter, saw one that had not opened. It was destroyed by a medicine man just as the sickness was beginning. This man was in his home about 10 miles from San Xavier when he saw a light over the village. He came to the village to treat a sick man and told the people he had seen the light and that it indicated the presence of a poison tube. Taking several medicine men with him, he found the tube and burned it. He said it was so powerful that if all the poison had been liberated it would have killed the whole village, beginning with the old people.

Among the Papago there were men called "sun medicine men" who claimed to get their power from the sun. It is said they were able to "take the light of the sun and throw it into the night." The strange brightness was said to be stronger than daylight and by it the medicine man could see objects many miles away. The song next following is the song of such a medicine man and is addressed to those who are searching near him for a poison tube. He does not offer to help them for he knows the tube is far away. 756

The next song was recorded by the writer's interpreter at San Xavier. (Pl. 13, a.) 000

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Another song of the same class which was not transcribed contained these words: "Spotted Mountain, at the top rises a white wind. The white wind makes the spotted mountain into a white mountain. At the top of the white mountain rose a white eagle. I saw it and my heart began to fail me. I scarcely knew what to do." 533X

The watchers inspected the ollas frequently to see how the fermentation was progressing. If some fault occurred near the beginning of the process it was possible to begin over, throwing out the wine and making fresh. The watchers, for instance, might report that moisture was on the outside of an olla. This indicated a slight leak and the wine was emptied into another olla. It was expected that the fermenting wine would rise to the top of the olla and sometimes run over a little. This should occur four times. After it had risen to the top of the olla the third time it was tasted and if it were not doing well the taster and the leader of the ceremony knew what to do. Sometimes a medicine man had interfered and used magic to spoil the wine. In that case it would bubble up, then die down, and get cold, and the people knew it would turn into sour water. If such a man were detected he might be whipped or even expelled from the village. While the wine was fermenting the medicine men were trying to locate rain. Four men combined in this work but only two were seated in the circle when the tiswin was drunk. These were men who had been qualified by dreams or had "met some strange thing at night." Their actions in trying to locate the rain were similar to those when trying to locate the enemy, on the warpath. The gestures were so much a matter of individuality that no action can be said to be typical. Those who had seen the performance said that some men used a wand, some an arrow, and others made gestures with their hands. A man might hold up an arrow and move it through the air as if testing the direction, or he might extend his right hand before him and his left hand behind him, motioning to the singers if he wanted them to sing faster or louder, as though he felt that he had found the direction of what he sought. An informant said that he saw a man make the rain divination at a tiswin festival and he "made motions with a little stick with a feather on the end." He moved the stick downward and water dripped from the end and was caught in a bottle. The man turned and sprinkled the water on the people. Some fell on this informant and the water felt hot. The medicine man said, "This water is so hot that the clouds will soon pass after a short shower, but to-morrow afternoon there will be a cool, abundant rain." It happened as the man had predicted. In reply to a direct inquiry the informants said that the medicine men did not cause the rain but "located and predicted it." 273 796 [754] 796 787

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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live in Mexico. The name Papago is usually interpreted as meaning "bean people." Their tribal name as employed by themselves is *Ó́otam*, which means "the people." They call the Pima Indians *Ákimuri Ó́otam*, "river people," referring appropriately to their habitat on the Gila River. The Pima call the Papago *Tóono Ó́otam*, "desert people."

The early Spanish missionaries were unable to exercise much influence over this tribe. The indefatigable Jesuit, Father Kino, who in the present State of Sonora in 1687 established his first mission, Dolores, travelled much in the Papagueria or Pimeria Alta, as far as the Gila River and crossing the Colorado. He was treated kindly by the Papagoes; but they have, nevertheless, been described by the early chroniclers as wild and dangerous. According to Mr. Bandelier, there is no historical record left of their customs and religion beyond that concerning the prevalence of witchcraft, which is still much in evidence. Even up to recent years the Papagoes made short work of medicine-men suspected of witchcraft.

The topographical position of the missions that were established was such that with the forts, or presidios, they formed a barrier against the Apaches, who were the main obstacle to the Christianizing and civilizing efforts of the Spaniard. Some of the missions of the "Province of Sonora" grew to be very rich in cattle and cultivated lands, feeding, as a recent Mexican author says, "a multitude of pagans who flocked there and helped in the work of the mission when needed." Sometimes the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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handful of pinole, whereupon the salt is spread out to dry. The party next moves down to the sea; going into it up to their knees, each man carries corn-meal in his left hand and, watching for the waves, throws one pinch of it, caught with all fingers, on each of four successive waves. He bends forward when a high one comes lest it might throw him on his back, which is a bad thing as it would make him ill. They do not indulge in any sea bathing, for the ocean is too clean to allow them to soil it, they reverently say.

Toward sunset the salt is gathered in sacks, about one hundred pounds in each, two of these making a load. Great care is taken that no salt be spilled on the road as this would bring about some misfortune. Every one takes back with him a piece of silicious sponge which is found on the beach and which is kept carefully from year to year. This is considered a good remedy for external use. But the leader may take a bite of it, chew it, fill his mouth with water, and spray this through his lips on the men. Members of a salt expedition learn new songs on the trip and they say they dream them while asleep. Among the gifts of the sea may be a beautiful wife, luck in hunting, or swiftness in foot-races. After their return they must stay away from their houses from ten to sixteen days. A good deal of their time is spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks, and after having taken a bath every fourth day the man is able to join his wife again. According to accounts of fifty years ago* the Papagoes supplied Tucson

*See California Notes, Fourth Series, in *California Farmer*, 1863.